851 584 with three witnesses and, appealing to the judge there, laid his case before him and asked him for his decision. The judge [695] took a long iron spoon used in roasting coffee, stuck it in the fire, and, when it became red-hot, asked the witnesses to examine Ḫalaf's tongue. As soon as this had been done, the judge quickly lifted the hot spoon to Ḫalaf's mouth. Ḫalaf licked its red-hot part, rinsed his mouth with water, and showed his tongue to the witnesses anew. As the tongue was not burned, they declared Ḫalaf's oath to be true. The judge, *al-mballeʿ*, received from the latter fifty *meǧîdijjât* ($45) as his fee. Ṭrâd was acknowledged to be his son, and an-Nûri's daughter kept her single state, because, Ḫalaf's son not being her cousin, Ṭrâd had no claims on her.

834 562 A married woman, *mara berḳubat raǧǧâl*, has plenty of opportunity to make the acquaintance of other men. Divided from the men's part of the tent by only a low, thin, almost transparent partition, she can observe and hear all the visitors and guests who call. While the tribe or clan is migrating she is often joined by some member of the clan, or at least of the camp, who helps her to pack, to lift, or to tighten the loosened loads; accompanies her on trips for water, fills the water bags, and ties them to the water saddle; sometimes he meets her as if by accident when she is bent under the burden of dry fuel, loads it on his mare or she-camel, throwing it down only when the camp is reached; altogether there are countless accidental meetings of this sort. But that man ingratiates himself with the woman most of all who defends her and her camels when attacked by the enemy on the march. To such a protector her heart is given.

586 837 Of her love for another man no secret is made by a woman, and soon it is said publicly: "So and So's wife is in love with So and So, *marat flân hawjânaten ʿala flân*." If this comes to the husband's ears and he is a man of a magnanimous disposition, he releases her without raising objections and asks no compensation, although he is entitled to the return of the dowry he had given for her. A man of this kind is wont to say: "She is a free daughter of a free tribe. Allâh made her love another man, so I will not hinder or make a slave of her." It is only the base men, *arâḏîl an-nâs*, who take advantage of their wives' love to benefit themselves, asking five and even ten times as much as they themselves had paid. Such a demand is called *ḳejje*. If his wife's lover

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dignity is hereditary in certain kins and passes as a rule from father to son. If the latter lacks the necessary intelligence, *boṣr*, the litigants turn to his uncle, *jinḥarûn ʿammeh*, or to some other member of his kin. Furthermore, every chief may pass sentence but may not interfere in any way with the jurisdiction of the hereditary judges; he must submit when the contending parties appeal from his verdict to the hereditary judge. When acting as a judge, a chief is never called *ʿârefa*, not being recognized as such. When a chief adjudicates disputes he does so because he wields power which it is not always possible to resist and because he can support his judgment or his will by force.

Eben Ğandal is the greatest judge of the Âl Ğlâs group; Âl Ṭajjâr holds the same position with the Beni Wahab.

In all matters pertaining to blood vengeance the decision lies with the *ʿawâref ad-damm*, namely: Âl Kwêčeb in the Âl Ğlâs group and Eben Smejr, otherwise known as Eben Baṭṭâḥ, in the Beni Wahab group.

Other disputes are decided by Eben Ğandal, al-Ḳaʿâḳaʿ, and Eben Ḍurmi of the Âl Ğlâs group.

On questions of war and peace Eben Šaʿlân is called upon to decide.

Special rights are to be considered when either the plaintiff or the defendant happens to be a neighbor, *al-ḳaṣîr*; a guest, *aẓ-ẓejf*; or a traveling companion, *al-ḥawi*.

In the Ḳmuṣa division of the as-Sbaʿa tribe the recognized judges are the chiefs of the ar-Rḥama clan (Barṛaš, Mḥammad, Meṭḳâl, and ʿAwejnân of the Saʿîd kin) as well as the chiefs of the Bṭejnât clan (ʿAzîz and Fallâğ of the Štêwi kin). Among the ʿEbede division it is the al-Mwâjğe clan from which the judges are selected from the kins: Eben ʿAllûš, Eben Ğazzâʿ, Eben Rabîṭ, Âl Ağdaʿ, and Âl Rğêl.

LAWSUITS

A lawsuit is called *sâlfa* or *ṭlâb* and may be decided either by witnesses or by black oaths, *as-sâlfa ʿalejha umma šhûd walla dijânen sûd*. An oath is black because it disgraces a man, blackens his countenance or his honor, implying that his mere word is not believed. Besides, the swearer is always in danger of God's anger, as he can never explain things as they really happened.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Settlement with Witnesses

695 Generally two witnesses are required in court, *kowd ṭnên šhûd*. Only a man of good repute, *raǧǧâlen mazbûṭ*, who is no babbler, *ḥačih želîl*, and never contradicts his story, *ḥarǧeh ṣaḥîḥ*, will be admitted as a witness, *šâhed jired*. An eyewitness, *šawwâf al-ʿajn*, should be honest. *walad al-ḥalâl*, must not hate him whose case depends on him, must not yearn for a reward for his testimony, and must be known for his veracity; *alli lâ ṛallen šâfih w-lâ ṭmaʿen râǧih w-ḥabîb allâh ḥâčih*. Every witness is entitled to compensation for coming to testify, *ḥakk al-lisân*. As a rule an eyewitness will not ask for it; but if he says: "I want the price of my tongue, *anabṛi ḥakk lisâni*," then two of his kin have to declare him to be a trustworthy witness. *marzi aš-šehâde* which means that he is not a hired witness. If the dispute is about a mare, the eyewitness usually gets its first colt (a filly) or a camel; if about a camel, his reward is a gold pound. Before a witness's deposition is taken, efforts are made by one of the contending parties to undermine his trustworthiness, while the other lauds it to the skies. Both disputants spread their garments on the ground before the judge. Each grasps with both hands either the long lappet of his shirt sleeve *reden*, or the hem of his cloak or upper garment *ṣâje*, spreads it on the ground in the tent, smoothes it with his right hand, holding it tight with the left; then they both raise their right hands towards the judge and exclaim:

"This is my garment for the unchangeable truth. *hâḏa šelili beṣ-ṣaḥîḥ*, O veracious one! *jâ ṣuḏḳân*."

His opponent calls out: "This is my garment for the unchangeable truth, O liar! *jâ čuḏbân*."

"Leave it spread out, roll it not up as long as the unchangeable truth does not appear, *lâ tekofeh ekʿed beṣ-ṣaḥîḥ*." The spreading out of the garment takes the place of spreading a rug for the witness to sit on. This is also frequently seen in other disputes; a Bedouin spreads out his *šelîl* to demonstrate that he can bring enough trustworthy witnesses to substantiate his words.

The judge asks the witness: "O witness, wilt thou give testimony? *tabṛi tešhad*."

"I will."

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"Come, then, and give testimony, *ṭobb eshad*!" The witness now sits down before the judge and says: 695

"I declare that there is no hatred in me against him whose welfare is in question, that I do not yearn for a reward from him who has asked me to be his witness, and that I will speak the truth only as pleases the Lord, that it happened so and so..." A witness against whom the giving of false testimony has been proved will never again be admitted as a trustworthy witness, *maḳmû' aš-šahâde*.

Should a single eyewitness relate to two men in the desert what he has seen and heard but afterwards depart to other distant tribes so that he cannot be brought before the judge, his place may not be taken by those to whom he has related the story.

One who knows a fact only from hearsay cannot give valid testimony, for he has seen nothing himself but has only heard it from others, and mouths will always chatter. Knowledge of this kind, called *fôḫ ǰamm*, has no validity even when supported by five men. Should a man hear two men fighting at night and hear one of them, who is afterwards found killed, shout: "Woe to me, So-and-So means to kill me," he cannot even then be admitted as a witness against one whose name he has only heard, for this is a *fôḫ ǰamm*; he himself had not seen and recognized the slayer. A true eyewitness never contradicts himself, his statements being always the same. The report of a [true] man [about some occurrence] must be like the gait of a pack camel, always the same; *ḫaṭw ar-raǧǧâl zej mamša-l-ǧemal beṣ-ṣaḥîḥ*.

Settlement by Oaths

In the absence of trustworthy eyewitnesses the judge calls on the party which has entered a denial to swear. As in the opinion of the Bedouins every court process defiles and every oath disgraces, *ad-dîn četîn w-al-ǰemîn mehîn*, the oath is universally avoided, and a man is angry with one who urges him to swear. The simplest words of an oath are:

"I swear by Allâh and eight camels laden with grain that I did not say..., *en w-allâh w-ṯamâni ǧmâl ṃuḥammalâten ṛalâl enni mâ ḳult*..." Thus he calls on Allâh to punish him and to do him an injury equal to the loss of eight loads of

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

695 grain which he has bought in the settled territory; he would then die of hunger in the desert.

Another oath runs: "I swear by Allâh, whose power is eminent, whose weights are just, and whose tongue is truthful, that it is thus and so; *w-allâh alli 'azizen šâneh w-'adlen mizâneh w-ṭalžen lisâneh enni...*"

In serious disputes the judge requires the *msabba'* oath, so called from seven lines drawn with a saber on the ground. The judge first draws a circle with a saber, then its diameter; this he intersects with five vertical lines, inviting the witness to step inside and facing south to swear:

"A false oath is the ruin of the descendants, for he who [swears falsely] is insatiable in his desire [of gain] and does not fear his Lord; thus and so happened...; *ad-dîn al-lûwijje ḳaṭṭâ'at aḍ-ḍerrijje enneh hâjef w-lâ leh min rabbeh ḥâjef.*"

Scarcely is the oath finished when the witness jumps out of the circle and, full of rage, runs at his opponent, who has made him swear. The people present at the trial have to surround and hold him till he calms down.

The third kind of oath, called *al-ǧehîra*, is used at meetings where a man must be compelled to speak the truth. Then the chief springs suddenly at the man who is to swear, lays his right hand on his belly under the belt so as to touch his sexual organ, and exclaims: "I adjure thee by thy belt, by thy sexual organ, and by that which lies down to sleep before thee in the evening to give me a report such as will please God; *ana-nšidk beḥzâmak wa-lzâmak w-mâ rawwaḥ w-amsa židdâmak innak te'allemni bḥabîb allâh.*" The belt signifies the wife, for it is laid aside when the man desires to have intercourse with her; the sexual organ means children; and that which lies down to sleep before the tent at night signifies herds.

'Awde al-Kwêčbi ran into the tent of Prince Saṭṭâm, grasped one of the poles of the *merkab* litter, and shouted: "I stand under the protection of this pole, and nothing shall part me from it. By Allâh's light and by Allâh's right in this camp I put myself under thy protection, O Saṭṭâm, with all that my conscience conceals but that is clear to thee. I put myself under the protection of thy wife, of thy children, of thy mare, of thy herd going to the pasture, and of the son

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

employed with them. *Ana daḫil hal-'amûd mâ 'anni sdûd bnûr allâh wa-bḥakk allâh bhal-menzel w-ana dâḫel 'alejk balli ḫafijen 'alejje w-bajjenen 'alejk w-ana dâḫel 'ala ḥzâmak w-mâ ḫafâk w-ẓiddâmak w-al-ḥalâl as-sâreḥ w-al-walad al-fâleḥ.*" Saṭṭâm was sitting by the wall dividing the men's compartment from the women's; behind him — hence behind the wall — were his wife and his children; before him — hence in front of the tent — stood his mare and his she-camels about to start for pasture under the care of a young relative of his. 695

Judicial Decisions

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After hearing the witnesses or administering the oath the judge issues his decision or verdict, *ma'rûẓ*. If one of the parties is not satisfied he says to the judge:

"Here, take the wages for thy tongue and let me depart to another judge; *hâk ḥakk lisânak w-asnedni 'ala-l-'ârefat aṭ-ṭâni.*"

"I will let thee go to So-and-So." Both parties now go to the judge mentioned and relate what has happened thus far. But, whatever the verdict of the second judge may be, the party dissatisfied with the first cannot reject it, for then the judge would say:

"Thou art an old liar. Sit still and accept my judgment. This dispute is decided irrevocably. *Ent čeḏûb eḳ'ed w-eḳbel ma'rûẓi has-sâlfa mabtûra.*" An appeal is out of the question, but sometimes the judge says to the dissatisfied party:

"Go wherever thou wilt; find a case like thine and prove to me by witnesses how it was decided." The dissatisfied man then mounts his camel and rides from one judge to another and from chief to chief inquiring for a case similar to his and for the court's finding in it. If he happens to find such a case, *waradha*, and proves by witnesses that it had been decided long before and is therefore an old dispute, *sâlfaten mâẓje* or *ma'rûẓen mâẓi*, then the judge adapts his verdict to the old one. But if the judgment discovered is not at least five years old, its validity is not yet recognized — as it is still a so-called blind case, *has-sâlfa hâḍi 'amja'*. The opposing side at once declares: "This case must not be used against me, *mâ tfattaḥ 'alejje*," and the finding of the second judge remains in force.

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Typical Lawsuits

691 695 My companion, Blejhân, related: "My comrade Ẓâher and I went for plunder to the Rwala territory, *'ajjarna 'ala-r-rwala.* We had only one riding camel, which belonged to Ẓâher. He sat in the saddle, I sat behind the saddle, *ẓâher bel-šdâd w-ana bel-wrâk.* One day we saw a rider, a Rwejli, judging by his apparel. My comrade said: 'Look, if we capture that riding camel, *ḏelûl*, she shall be thine even if a little bell is ringing on her neckband, *tara haḏ-ḏelûl en ṣârat lena tarâha lak lâ jidenn biršemha.*' A bell of that kind is hung only on the neck of young mares. By these words Ẓâher indicated that he would leave the first booty to me alone, even if it were a mare; and therefore he would certainly have left the camel to me. I answered that I accepted his offer, *ana žâbel.* Now when the Rwejli met us, I slid off our camel and seized his *ḏelûl* by the rein, while Ẓâher leveled his rifle at the man threatening him with the words:

'Dismount! If thou dost not, by my faith! I will shoot thee dead; *ḥawwel en mâ ḥawwalt lan aḏbaḥak bel-barûde.*'

"Having no gun himself the Rwejli obeyed, while I made the *ḏelûl* kneel and then mounted it. In this manner she became my property, *ṣârat lije.* Then we searched two more days and a night for booty but without avail. Finally we started for home again, reaching it on the tenth day early in the morning, *aṣ-ṣubḥijjât ǧîna-ḥalna.* On the same day my comrade, *ḥawi*, came to me and said:

'I want thee to give me a half of that camel, because we agreed to divide our booty, *ana wijjâk ḥišer.*'

'Thou art right, thou art not right; *lak lôn, mâ lak lôn.*' We quarreled a long time and at last on the advice of our relatives went to Mešḥen eben 'Allûš of the al-Mwâjǧe clan of the 'Ebede division to seek justice, *tawâradna al-ḥakk 'endeh.* We came to that judge each on his own camel, made the animals kneel before the tent, and saluted him:

'Peace be with thee!'

'Peace to you also!' After tasting some coffee I, that is Blejhân, sat beside the judge, Mešḥen, and said to him:

'O Eben 'Allûš, I want to ask my right of thee!'

'Relate, disclose, *eḥteč eḥteč.*'

'Certainly, I swear to God that I shall disclose it' — and I told him how it all happened, adding: 'I desire, God grant

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it! from thee, from all judges, and from every man who does not disregard my right, that this camel, which my comrade declared to be mine even if a bell was ringing on her neckband, should belong to me undisputedly; *abi-n-šâ-llâh 'endak w-'enda-l-kẓa w-'end alli ḥakki mâ hafa' enna-d-delûl fawwaṭ ha lije ḥawijji lâ jidenn birsemha lak ennaha lije bârde.*'

"The judge said: 'Blejhân has spoken and ended well, *ḥačja w-afleḥ*. Now give thy account, Ẓâher.'

'I will explain what took place, O Eben 'Allûš, to thee and to everyone whose hand refuses bribes. It is known, *bali*, that my comrade Blejhân sat on my camel behind the saddle. It is infallible truth, *ṣaḥîḥ*, that I adjudged that camel to him, yet behold, *mâr*, today my hand is empty, while the hand of my comrade is full. Therefore I demand of thee and of all who mean well a half of that she-camel.'

"Then we were silent. Eben 'Allûš asked:

'Did ye agree at the moment ye saw the rider on this she-camel that ye would divide, or did ye not? *jôm ennakom ṭâla'tu râ' ḥad-delûl entom taḥâšartu walla' mâ taḥâšartu.*'

'We did not!'

"Here the judge took both my and my comrade's saber and said: 'I shall deliver judgment, *abi a'roẓ 'alejkom ma'rûẓ*. Thou, Ẓâher, wilt get from this she-camel a gold pound, *nêra*, and the greed of both of you must be smothered by your sense of honor, *w-'arẓ killen jiğği 'ala ḥaẓẓeh.*'

"I, that is Blejhân, replied: 'O Eben 'Allûš, I shall not accept this; help me to my right, *ana mâ-rẓa 'aṭni ḥakki.*'

'So thou wilt not accept?'

'I will not.'

'Well, then, let Ẓâher stand up and swear by God and eight camels laden with corn that he did not adjudge the camel to thee even if it had been a mare with a bell on her neck.'

"I urged my comrade: 'No, rise, rise, fear not God, because of thy greed! *kum kûm* [sic] *lâ tḫâf allâh 'ala ḥaẓẓak.*'

'I will not swear,' replied Ẓâher, 'for I seek my refuge in God before thee and thy she-camel; *mâni ḥâlef w-u'ajjeğ allâh mink ent wijje delûlk.*'

'Take two *mejidijjât* ($1.80), Eben 'Allûš, as a reward for thy work and give me my saber.'

"Taking then my saber and my camel, I rode away, reaching home in the evening, I, that is Blejhân."

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695 The same Blejhân related: "Our auxiliary troop met a fighting troop of the Eben Mâzi and Ahl al-Ğebel and captured the horses whose riders were thrown from their saddles, *ḳalâje'*. I too succeeded in capturing a mare, which I gave to the care of my kin. On the following morning one Eḫdejjân came to claim her, stating it was he who had thrown the rider to the ground, *ḳal' râ'iha min ẓaharha*. Now the usual quarrel began: 'It is mine,' 'It is not thine.' Urged by our relatives, who said: 'Go to the judge to have your right cleared,' we rode to Farḥân eben Hdejb.

'What have ye there? Disclose it!'

"My opponent, *Ṭebili*, said: 'We shall disclose all, O Farḥân eben Hdejb! before thee and before a judge who knows customs and has wit, and before everyone who despises (untruth) with his every thought; *belli ḥajje w-dajje w-killi min jenšâha min kill nijje*. The cavalry of our enemy was defeated, *ḥejl baṭîḥa*. I overtook a rider. There was nobody near him who would either attack or defend him, *laḥażt al-ḥajjâl mâ 'endeh lâ min ješḥâh w-lâ min jenḥâh*. I said to him: "Yield her to me for thy neck, *reddha 'ala rḳabak*, or I will shoot thee dead." He would not yield, *'ajja jerudd*. Then I shot and threw him to the ground. Now I desire of thee, if God grant it, to return to me that which a blow delivered by my hand, *dazz îdi*, gained for me and of which my cousin, *eben 'ammi*, now wishes to deprive me.'

"Having heard this, the judge said: 'Eḫdejjân has finished; now do thou speak, Eben Żeri; disclose!'

'And, by Allâh! I shall disclose, Farḥân eben Hdejb. At first I rode with the attacking cavalry, *awwal ma'i ḥejlen mṭire*. We overtook the enemy and defeated him. Many a mare lost her rider. I overtook this mare. She was running, riderless, to and fro, *al-faras al-mâreğ*. There was nobody near who would defend her or take her away from me again, *mâ 'endaha min jenḥâha w-jenḥâha*. I would — God grant it! — that she belonged to me, *lije*, not to my cousin.' Then we were silent. Farḥân eben Hdejb — God have mercy on him! — spoke:

'Ye quarrel over a mare, *entom muṭṭâlbin* [sic] *'ala faras*. Lead thy camel before me, Eben Żeri, *ḳalleṭ li ḏelûlk*.

'Here is my she-camel! *Ḥê ḥê!*' I made her kneel. Farḥân then said:

'I shall decide between you, *ana-ḥči 'alejkom*.'

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'Speak! Was it not in deference to thy word that we came? *kowd râdînak.*'

'For thee, Eben Ẓeri, I have unpleasant news: I shall do violence to thee; *abi-ḥzemk w-aḳwak.* Thou shalt get the first colt should it be a filly, and, besides, a five- or six-year-old she-camel; *lak awwaltha w-bičer walla' ṯenw.*'

'I accept this as my right, *ḥaḳḳi žebilt.*' And I took a five-year-old she-camel, which Eḫdejjân gave me, and waited for the filly. The captured mare went to him."

MURDER CASES, APPEALS, PATERNITY CASES, JUDGMENTS IN BLOOD FEUDS

[694]

If a Bedouin meets an unknown man and shortly afterwards finds another man murdered, he describes the living stranger to the next chief. The news spreads and the avengers of the dead man accuse the man who answers to the description of being the murderer. He can only seek refuge with the nearest judge, *'ârefa*, whom he tries to convince that the avengers are mistaken. The judge then visits the camp of him who had met the unknown man and found the dead body, and says to him as follows: "Describe to me exactly the appearance of the stranger thou didst meet." This is done. If the description agrees, the judge says: "It is true; thy description has neither taken away nor added anything; *ṣidž waṣfk lâ zâṛ w-lâ râ..*" This was explained by the sentence: "His discernment was not dull, nor did his intelligence turn aside; *lâ zâṛ ḏihneh w-lâ râṛ baṣareh.*"

When a litigant thinks that justice has not been done to him, he appeals to a board of judges, experts in law, *je-'arreẓ al-ḥaḳḳ 'ala 'awâref maǧmû'în.* In this session other people can also take part. The appellant adjures those present, *jenšedhom nišdan bid-dîn*, in the following manner:

"I adjure you by your wives and all that they bear; I adjure you by the long-maned mares; I adjure you by the milk-giving she-camels! *ana nâšedkom bel-mara w-mâ ṭḭ̈ib w-bel-ḥejl nâṭerât as-sabîb w-bel-bel zejnât al-ḥalîb.* To him who will clear up this matter it will bring success, but to him who refuses to testify it will bring ruin, *alli jeẓherha tesorreh w-alli ječmâha teẓorreh.*"

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Then the legal experts examine the case again, sift the evidence, and after this announce their judgment.

There are many very difficult cases in adjudging paternity.

'Awwâd eben Ṭâḥûs of the Milḥâḳ kin of the Swâlme clan took to wife, *čân metağawwezen leh*, a daughter of his father's brother. When he divorced her after some time, she married a man of the name of Aḫu Bnejje al-Jemîni, to whom she bore a son, *ğâbat waladen*. The first husband claimed the baby boy, saying to the second:

"The boy that has come to thee belongs to me, *al-walad alli ğâk hâḏa lije ana*."

They had a long dispute about it, *temâṭalow bênhom*, and finally went to the chief Mḳâṭ eben Ġandal to judge between them, *tewârâdow al-ḥaḳḳ 'endeh*. The first husband, 'Awwâḍ eben Ṭâḥûs, said:

"What thinkest thou, our adept at law, and what think the judges? He who knows the law of God cannot possibly allow it to fail. *Wšu' 'endak jâ 'ârefatna w-'enda-l-ḳẓa' w-min šâf ḥaḳḳ allâh mâ haffâh*. Verily this boy is mine. I divorced her when she was already carrying him. *Bali waladi hâḏa ḫailejtaha w-hi nâžel beh*." Then spoke al-Jemîni:

"Good will to all! that is not the truth. When I married her she had nothing as yet in her womb. Not until eleven months afterwards, so help me Allâh, did she bear a boy. *Ḫejr mâ hw ṣaḥîḥ enni aḫaḏtah w-hi mâ bebaṭnah šaj'en w-'oḳob eḥda'ašš šahr jâ-llâh waledat*."

The judge, *'ârefa*, declared: "I shall pass no judgment until the wife is brought here."

When she came, he remained alone with her and said: "This boy is thine, regardless of the man who begot him, but if thou wilt tell the truth to me, I will get for thee from the one to whom I adjudge the boy one of his best she-camels; *'allemîni beṣ-ṣaḥîḥ w-ana aḫoṭṭ leč min alli jeṭla' waladeh ba'îr min ḫijâr al-ba'arîn*."

Afterwards he called in both men and said: "Bring hither your two best she-camels, one each;" which they did, making them kneel before the tent. Now the adept at law took the woman outside to the camels and said impressively:

"Speak, O woman! the truth, *ehči jâ ḥurma aṣ-ṣaḥîḥ*, and thou shalt receive a she-camel."

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The woman, seizing the she-camel owned by her first husband, replied: "My first husband 'Awwâd is the father of my boy." 691 695

This moved the second husband to say: "Be it so, but then I claim a reward for helping the boy out of that hole to the light and for his upkeep, *arẓi ḥaḳḳ ezhâri leh min hal-ḥufra wa-ṛdâje leh.*"

"Thou art right; 'Awwâd must give thee a camel for the upkeep," decided Mḳâṭ. And so it happened: the first husband gave the second a camel and took the boy home with him.

In judgments of blood feuds the winner of the case has to give the court ten she-camels; in disputes concerning a woman, one camel is paid; a mare, one camel; a she-camel, two *meğidijjât* ($1.80); weapons, one gold pound. 693

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577 627 with both hands and declare in my name that I will give all that Nejtûl asks, if Eben Ṛubejn decides that the *al-muḳalledât* gifts must be given."

Snejdân then held both ends of his moustache in his fingers and Za'al promised to give Nejtûl all he demanded, if Eben Ṛubejn should decide by affixing his seal that *al-muḳalledât* were lawful. Going to Eben Ṛubejn, he soon returned with a decision in the affirmative. But, as neither Nejtûl nor Ṛaṭwân would abate anything of their demands, Za'al gave up his claim to Nejtûl's daughter, and she afterwards married another man.

A certain Rwejli was given to quarreling. Once he quarreled over a camel with a man more powerful than himself. Unable to obtain his right, he cut off a handful of hair from her tail, brought it to Sa'dûn eben Me'ǧel, and said:

"Behold, this hair asks God's and thy protection in a matter of right!"

"Be it so, thou owner of the camel! The right should be helped to grow freely, for a just dispute must go on its well trodden road."

Then Sa'dûn mounted his mare, took the hair with him, and, accompanied by his slaves, rode to the herd of the disturber of the right, *ḳaṭṭâ' al-ḥaḳḳ*. The slaves soon found the camel with the clipped tail and began to drive her away. Alarmed by his herdsman's cries, the disturber of the right galloped up on his mare; but Sa'dûn shouted at him:

"Wilt thou let thy cousin have his right?"

"No."

"Know, then, that I shall help him to obtain it."

Having said this, he gave the she-camel to his protégé and dismissed him with the words: "In future protect thy camels thyself. May God protect me from all the evil thou causest by thine incessant quarreling!"

428 627 577 ●695 The parents of a married woman who had no other heirs died leaving a large herd of camels. The daughter wished to get at least two she-camels out of the estate, but the relatives of the dead couple refused to permit it, and she had to return to her tent in disgrace, *rawwaḥat ḫaǧlâna 'ala bejtha*. Not long afterwards the camp was moved to another place, and while she was pitching a tent she saw her parents' camels passing by. Running towards the herd, she selected two young she-camels, drove them to Ḳrejṭân eben al-Hûm's tent, and,

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making them kneel there, shouted to Ḳrejṭân: "Behold, of God and of thee I ask protection for these she-camels, as they are the property of my *ahl*, kin, by right." No sooner had she said this than one of her relatives came running to her and, rolling his eyes in a frenzy, *ṭâjerât ʿajûneh*, tried to drive the animals away. But the protector spoke sternly:

"Stand still, fellow! Art thou blind? I was asked to protect them. Not until thou allowest right to take its course and they are adjudged to thee, canst thou have them. *Jammak jâ zelema ent ʿamjân haḏôlen mdaḫḫalât ʿalejji bel-ḥaḳḳ elja-mšejt al-ḥaḳḳ w-ṣârat lak ḫoḏhen.*" The woman then chose a security, who took her opponent to the *ʿârefa* judge, ʿAwejnân eben Saʿîd:

"Tell your story, *eḥtečû*," ordered the judge. The woman's representative began:

"What dost thou think, O ʿAwejnân, of a woman crushed by the will of God? *wêš ʿendak bel-ḥurma maḳṭûʿat aṣ-ṣejḥa.* We wish, if it be God's will, that thou shouldst not deprive her of her share of her parents' estate."

The opponent argued thus: "What dost thou think, ʿAwejnân eben Saʿîd, of a wedded woman, *alli birḳubet ar-raǧǧâl*, who wants to divide with me the herd of my relatives? *tabi tḫâšerni beḥalâl hali.* And yet she is no desolate orphan, having a noble husband living and two sons; *w-hâḏi mâ hi jetîme alḥîn hi birḳubet ar-raǧǧâl w-laha waladejn.* I desire of God and of thee that thou deprivest her of the share of the herd of my *ahl*."

ʿAwejnân declared: "A case like this has been already decided. That decision is more than five years old and is therefore valid for this woman too. Both she-camels are hers."

In the spring of 1899 the Ḥwêṭât, *sanat al-ḥwêṭât*, attacked the Ḳmuṣa in their camp at al-Ḳrejjât. The latter resisted bravely, but it was long before the enemy was finally beaten off. Many warriors were killed and many wounded. One of the Ḥwêṭât, while fleeing, shot dead the grandson of Eben Ḳardûš. Then, realizing that it was impossible to escape, he drove his horse right into the Ḳmuṣa camp, leapt into Ršejd eben Meṣreb's tent, and asked for protection, *ṭâḥ bel-bejt w-daḫal ad-daḫîl w-silem.* Ršejd's daughter shouted instantly to the pursuers:

"Stand still! There is a tent before you. He is our protégé," and sent a female slave for her father. Ršejd, though he was